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ABSTRACT

This monograph documents the magnitude and likely prognosis of demographic changes in the 1970's and suggests the impact of these trends on the problems of early childhood education. The implications of this changing environment for designing a new Follow Through program are also examined. With respect to the changing demographic environment, information regarding fertility, adolescent childbearing, proportion of working mothers, single parent households, and international immigration is presented. The consequences of changing demographics are discussed in relation to reduced fertility, children of adolescent and working mothers, single parent households and immigrant and foreign language status. Such changes are seen as having several implications for designing new Follow Through options; specifically, these concern the declining size of the traditional pool of applicants, increase in applicants for whom English is a second language, and substantial demand for custodial services for "latchkey" children of all social and ethnic backgrounds. It is suggested that the assumption of new purposes and functions by Follow Through implies the need for new models of evaluation using broader criteria. (AS)

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SOCIETAL TRENDS AFFECTING THE ENVIRONMENT OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Final report for Follow Through Planning Project
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SOCIETAL TRENDS AFFECTING THE ENVIRONMENT OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

The 1970s were a period of substantial demographic change. While most of the changes were continuations of past trends, several appear to herald a clean break with the past. Of particular interest are those which may have particular significance for early childhood education. These are:

1) substantial reductions in fertility of the white and black populations;

2) an increase in adolescent maternity as a proportion of total maternity;

3) a rise in female labor-force participation and in the proportion of mothers working;

4) an increase in the number of single-parent families; and

5) a shift in the sources of international immigration, legal and illegal, from Europe to Asia and Latin America.

This monograph first documents the magnitude and likely prognosis of these trends. Second, the impact of these trends on the problems of early childhood education are suggested. Third, the implications of this

changing environment for designing a new Follow Through program are examined.

THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

Decreasing fertility

There has been a major reduction in the fertility of the white and black populations in the United states during the 1970s. While there has been a long-term trend toward decreased fertility since the nineteenth century, superimposed upon cycles of fertility, the present patterns bring fertility to new lows.

The reduction in fertility can be measured in several ways. First, the birth rate is simply the number of births in a year divided by the total population of a group. By this indicator, the birth rates for both whites and blacks dropped by about one third from 1960 to 1977 Although the black birth rate is about 50 percent greater than the white birth rate, it is now less than the white birth rate of 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979a, table 25). While a good first approximation, the birth rate calculation is highly sensitive to the age-distribution of the population. Other ratios provide a better indicator of trends in the child population.

Second, general fertility rate is the registered number of births per thousand resident females age 15-44, the potential child-bearing population. This

indicator fell by 50 percent for the white population and by 40 percent for the black population betwen 1960 and 1977. Again the fertility rate for blacks in 1977 is less than that for whites in 1960 according to this measure (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1979a, table 25).

Third, "the total fertility rate is the number of births that a thousand women would have in their lifetime if, at each year of age, they experienced the birth rates occurring in the specified year." By this indicator both white and black fertility fell by about 50 percent in the 1960-1977 period, and again black fertility in the late 1970s is less than white fertility in the early 1960s (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1979a, table 80).

Of great significance is that white fertility dipped below the replacement level in 1972 and that black fertility is nearly at replacement level. In other words, white and black populations are hovering at the zero population growth mark.

The consequences of this fertility decline is the absolute reduction in the number of children under five years of age during the 1970s. The absolute number of white children under five dropped 12 percent and the number of black children dropped 3 percent during this decade (U.S.Bureau of Census, 1978a, table 1; David & Baldwin, 1979).

Whether this portends a decreasing clientele for

compensatory education program depends upon forecasts of fertility. Does the reduction in fertility of the 1970s merely reflect a postponement of child-bearing by women striving for higher levels of occupational attainment? Or does reduced fertility reflect a reduction in the desired number of children?

There is considerable evidence that the number of children that American women expect to have has been decreasing. While women age 30-34 in 1968 expected to have an average of 3.3 children, women of the same age in 1978 expected to have an average of only 2.4. In both years, the younger cohorts expected to have fewer children. Birth expectations are a fairly good indicator of the completed fertility of a given cohort of women. The same cohort of women age 25-29 in 1967, who expected to have 3.04 children, were expecting only 2.95 by 1977, when they fell in the 35-39 age group and had nearly completed their childbearing (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1978b; David & Baldwin, 1979).

Adolescent childbearing

In contrast to many other Westen nations, the U.S. has a high incidence of teenage pregnancy (Phipps-Yonas, 1980). Survey data collected in 1971 indicated that 40 percent of the white and 75 percent of the black females younger than 18 years in the U.S. engaged in sexual intercourse (Kantner & Zelnick, 1973). In the five years

following 1971, the numbers of adolescent girls engaging in sexual activity increased by 30 percent. Between 1960 and 1977, the proportion of births to adolescent mothers increased from 14 percent to 17 percent of the total births in the U.S. In 1975, over 200,000 women younger than 18 years became mothers and about ten percent of the population of girls 17 and younger were mothers during this period (Phipps-Yonas, 1980). If one considers the group of two million girls who were 14 years in 1976, Phipps-Yonas has predicted that 21 percent will have at least one live birth, 15 percent will have at least one abortion, and 6 percent will have at least one miscarriage or stillbirth while they are still in their teens.

Within these overall figures, there are additional items that should be of concern. First, there has been a substantial increase in the births to very young mothers, a group which has been seen as very high risk (David & Baldwin, 1979). Births to women under the age of 16 have increased from about 25,000 in 1960 to 42,000 in 1977. Second, there has been a substantial increase in the births to unmarried teenagers. In 1960, there were about 92,000 such births; in 1977, almost 250,000. This increase in illegitimacy reflects the growth of the teenage population, for the birth rate for unwed teenagers has hardly changed: from 44 per thousand in

1960 to 48 per thousand in 1977 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1979a, table 93). Between 1975 and 1978, it has been estimated that 60 percent of the births to white teenagers and 90 percent of the births to black teenagers were premaritally conceived, figures representing 250 percent and 50 percent increases respectively from 25 years ago.

These birth rate figures could be expected to be significantly higher given the higher rate of sexual activity except for the increased availablity of abortion and contraceptives. As of 1978, about one-tnird of the pregnant adolescents chose to terminate their pregnancy. This decision tends to be more often made by white as opposed to black teenaged girls. (According to Zelnick [1974], about one-half of the white pregnant teenagers choose abortion.) Adolescents who select abortion tend to differ in other ways from those who choose to deliver the baby. The former are of higher social status. Even when social class is controlled, those teenagers who choose to abort tend to do better in school and to have higher vocational and educational goals. They appear to be healthier mentally as well (Fishman, 1975).

There also appear to be differences beween tnose teenagers who regularly use contraceptives and tnose who do not. In the group of sexually active girls, effective contraceptors tended to be more effective communicators,

to have greater commitments with their male partners, and to have a more internal locus of control than their peers who did not consistently use contraception. Many studies, however, report, that most sexually active girls engage in unprotected intercourse at least part of the time. In particular, risk of pregnancy is especially high at the beginning of sexual activity before contraception is regularly practiced. Fifty percent of premarital, adolescent pregnancies occur within six months of the female's initiation. Twenty percent occur within the first month.

Increasing proportion of working mothers

There has been a dramatic increase in the worker/nonworker ratio among women of nearly all ages since the mid 1950s (Duncan, 1979; Lloyd & Niemi, 1979, figures 2.4 & 2.7). The share of women with children under five who are working increased even more dramatically. In 1950, 30.3 percent of married women without children worked, but only 11.9 percent of mothers with children under 6. While the proportion of married women without children who worked increased gradually to 44.7 percent by 1978, the proportion with children under six rose rapidly. This proportion went from 11.9 in 1950, to 18.6 in 1960, to 30.3 in 1970, and 41.6 in 1978 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980a, chart 19). Some of the rise in working motherhood is related to

increasing single-parent households, but the bulk of working mothers are married (Hoffman, 1979).

In the past, the likelihood of a women entering the labor force was inversely related to the number of children and positively related to her own education. Today working and motherhood are less often mutually exclusive alternatives. While these rates are lower than those for married women without children, the differentials are diminishing (Lloyd & Niemi, 1979,p.36). To reiterate, the labor force participation of married women without children is 44.7 percent. For those with children under 6, the rate is 41.6 percent. As a consequence, the share of children under six living in homes with working mothers has increased.

Single-parent households

The 1970s witnessed an increase in the number of single-parent homes, or the percentage of children living in such homes. About 40 percent of current first marriages are likely to end in divorce and nearly half of all children born in the 1970s will spend some time living in single-parent families. The average length of time spent by children in a single-parent home as a result of marital disruption is about six years (Hetherington, 1979).

This phenomenon reflects several trends. First, there has been an increase in the rate of divorce or

separation. In 1960 there were 9 divorces per hundred married women. This figure rose to 15 in 1970 and 21 in 1978 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1979a, table 119; David and Baldwin, 1979). Disruption of marriage is itself a contributor to reduced fertility (Thornton, 1978). Divorce is frequently followed by remarriage, and 11 percent of all households contain remarried adults with children from previous marriages. Second, illegitimate births as a percent of live births has risen from 5.3 percent, to 12.4 percent, to 15.5 percent in the same years (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1979a, table 93).

Together the increasing share of broken marriages and illegitimacy has raised the proportion of female-headed families and reduced the proportion of chldren living with both parents. By 1978, 14 percent of all children under age six were living in female-headed families.

The new immigration

After the passage of the landmark immigration act of 1965, the sources of American immigration shifted markedly from Europe toward Asia and Latin America (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1979a, tables 68 & 70;ibid, 1979b & 1980b). While numbers are harder to obtain, net illegal migration from Mexico may equal one-fifth to one half of legal immigration from the rest of the world (U.S.

Bureau of Census, 1979, table 127). These trends would appear to herald an increasing number of young children unfamiliar with Indo-European languages or children of semi-literate Hispanic origin.

Contrary to trends in the number of white and black children, the number of Hispanic children under five increased by 25 percent in the 1970s. In other words, while Hispanics accounted for 7 percent of children under 5 in 1970, they accounted for 9 percent of this age group by 1977. The increase in Hispanic youngsters appears to reflect both immigration and high fertility. While most individuals of Hispanic origin are native-born, the immigrant component of the increase indicates an increase in the proportion of children who speak only Spanish.

Most illegal aliens are apparently working-age males, who spend about 2-3 years in this country before returning. A recent court ruling requires local school districts to provide education to children of illegal aliens. By raising the benefits of bringing children, this ruling may result in an increased inflow of children (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1978, table 1; Heer, 1979).

CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

Reduced fertility

While the rate of first births has declined only

slightly since 1960, births of higher parity have decreased dramatically in the U.S (David & Baldwin, 1979). Children from two-child and only-child families are becoming the norm. Reduced fertility can have effects at the individual and aggregate levels. In the aggregate, the diminishing number of children may indicate a reduction in the number of potential clients for a Follow Through program, but this reduction may be offset by other demographic changes, such as increasing numbers of working mothers or children of adolescent mothers.

At the individual level, reduced fertility results in decreased family size. This reduction in family size has implications for children's cognitive, social, and emotional functioning. Children born earlier in the birth order and to smaller families generally have higher IQ scores than do later-born children or children from larger families (Zajonc, 1976). In addition, first-born children are more likely to achieve academic excellence, to go farther in school, and to be identified as eminent scholars (Sutton-Smith & Rosenberg, 1970). Language differences associated with parity have been found with first-born children speaking earlier and more clearly than do later-born children (Koch, 1966).

While the evidence of birth-order and family-size effects on intelligence appears unequivocal, other

consequences of birth order and family size are less well established (Terhune & Pilio, 1974). There are some indications, however, of personality differences associated with birth order and family size. First borns appear more motivated to excell (Elder, 1962; Rosen, 1961). Some studies suggest that they are more popular and socially skilled with peers than are later-born children (Snow, Jacklin, & Maccoby, in press; Smith & Goodchilds, 1963). On the negative side, first born children appear more anxious and timid in situations stressing academic achievement (Schachter, 1959).

Several hypotheses have been proposed to explain these differences. Most center on the assumption that families have limited resources of time and money, which must be divided among family members. As the number of children increases, the available resources per child decline. In fact, it does appear that parents spend more time with their first born, and much of this time is spent talking, explaining, and reasoning with the child (Lasko, 1954; Rothbart, 1971); and these verbal activities are associated wih improved language skills. Parents also tend to be more responsive to the needs of their first born and his/her attempts to interact (Jacobs & Moss, 1976; Lewis & Kreitzberg, 1977). Such activities enhance children's social competence.

In addition, there are economic consequences of birth order and family size. Obviously, economic

resources, like adult attention, are less diluted in smaller families. In some families, the oldest child receives a disproportionate share of the resources (David & Baldwin, 1979). Finally, reduced fertility can enhance the opportunities of children by freeing the mother to enter the labor force and to amplify the family's economic base.

This picture of declining fertility and family size suggests an enhanced psychological functioning of children and a consequently decreased population of children requiring Follow Through-type services. Other factors at work, however, increase the number of children at risk who may need these or other services. These factors are increasing proportions of adolescent mothers, children living in single-parent homes, and in homes with working mothers. In addition, the rise of "cyclical migration" of children speaking Spanish, many of whom are in families of undocumented aliens, poses another problem which may be dealt with through Follow Through.

Children of adolescent mothers

Although the birth rate for adolescents has declined in the last 20 years, the total number of children being born to adolescents has declined only slightly. The proportion of these children among all children has consequently increased (David & Baldwin,

1979). These children represent a special population at risk. If current trends continue, they should represent an increasing share of the Follow Through clientele. Many of these children are in fact doubly "at risk" because their mothers are unmarried as well as adolescent. The problems of single-parent families are discussed in a subsequent section.

There are a number of problems associated with adolescent motherhood, independent of marital status. Homes with adolescent mothers are significantly less stable, with child care responsiblities being in greater flux (David & Baldwin, 1979). In addition, an early first birth is associated with a faster pace of subsequent child bearing and a consequently larger family. The incidence of unwanted births is also greater among adolescent mothers (David & Baldwin, 1979). Very young mothers (less than 14 years old) are more likely to experience difficulties in pregnancy and delivery (Phipps-Yonas, 1980). The incidence of premature births and low birth weight infants are higher among adolescent mothers; and both of these factors are associated with subsequent developmental difficulties (Phipps-Yonas, 1980). In addition, the literature consistently shows undesirable long-term consequences of early childbearing in terms of lower educational achievement for the mother and a greater family reliance upon public assistance (Furstenberg, 1978). Finally, teenage parents have more

limited knowledge of child development, unrealistic expectations for their children, and are more likely to employ punitive child-rearing practices (DeLissovoy, 1973). The two risk factors of adolescent maternity and premature birth seem to converge in the child abuse literature (Field & Widmayer, 1980).

Given these difficulties, it is not surprising that many of the children of adolescent mothers have various developmental problems. As preschoolers, they are less likely to be able to complete a pre-school inventory, because of severe physical and psychological handicaps (Furstenberg, 1976). As school-aged children, they are less likely to maintain grade-appropriate reading levels (Oppel & Royston, 1971). Holding socioeconomic status equal, maternal youth has been reported as a significant contributor to deflated IQ scores (Belmont & Dryfoos, 1979; Broman,1979; Record, McKeown & Edwards, 1969). Given these factors one would expect the growing proportion of children of adolescent mothers to represent an increasing proportion of the Follow Through clientele.

Working mothers

As noted above, the new reality for many two-parent American households is the employment of both parents outside the home. The first obvious effect of this

emerging pattern is the increased financial resources available for children.

There are also changes in family dynamics associated with maternal employment. Husbands are less likely to have second jobs and to spend more time with their families (Hoffman, 1979). They report being happier than men whose wives do not work. Wives employed outside the home also report greater satisfaction with their lives and identity. Several researchers have found that women not employed outside the home are more likely to question their own competence as their children mature. Unfortunately their children often come to mirror this attitude by questioning their mothers' competence as well (Gold and Andres, 1978; Hoffman, 1974).

Because of labor-saving devices, women are now required to spend less time on household tasks. Consequently, it is not clear that the concomitant increase in working motherhood among married women results in decreasing supervision and care of children. As Hoffman (1979) notes: "It is possible that employment, at least when children are school-aged, simply fills the time previously consumed by household burdens and more children." In other words, since family size has decreased at the same time that working motherhood has increased, it is not clear that those children whose mothers are employed are receiving any

less care than before. Hoffman speculates further tnat if a mother is not employed, she may then use the extra time by overinvesting in her preschool and school-aged children, providing them with more mothering than they need or can handle. At the same time, at least one study has found no significant difference in the amount of time employed and nonemployed mothers spend in face-to-face interaction with their children (Goldberg, 1977).

Still, there are differences in the approach of employed and nonemployed women to mothering. Working mothers who are not guilty about their employment are more likely to encourage independence in their children than are nonworking mothers. The children of working mothers, for example, are more likely to have increased household responsibilities.

Maternal employment per se does not appear to have unequivocal positive or negative effects on all children. The effects tend to vary with the sex and age of the child, maternal attitudes toward employment, and the quality of surrogate care. For example, preschool, school-age, and adolescent daughters of working mothers tend to be higher achievers and to have greater self-esteem than daughters of nonworking women (Hoffman, 1979). In contrast, Owen and Chase-Lansdale (1978) found that maternal employment was generally unrelated to child competence except that the most competent children

had mothers who worked and who were sensitive to the special needs their working created for their offspring.

Other studies have found less favorable consequences of maternal employment on boys. Boys in lower-class families have been less admiring of their fathers when their mothers were employed outside the home (Gold and Andres, 1978; Hoffman, 1978). Middle-class boys tend to score more poorly on language, IQ and mathematics achievement tests when their mothers are employed outside the home. On the other hand, there is evidence that by adolescence, boys of nonworking mothers may be more conforming and inhibited (Moore, 1975). An important factor influencing a woman's decision to work, her job satisfaction, and the effect of her employment on the child is the availaility of adequate child care. The general unavailability of adequate child care at a reasonable cost is the major reason given by low-income women for not seeking employment (Presser and Baldwin, 1980). The problem of adequate supervision is less paramount during the hours children are in school. After school hours, the lack of supervision may have serious consequences. Unsupervised "latchkey" children suffer greater risks of physical and psychological harm. At least two million children between ages seven and thirteen are simply left alone after school without supervision (Levine, 1979). Inadequate supervision is one of the most commonly cited

factors in contributing to delinquency (Herzog and Sudia, 1973). As the number of children of working mothers increases, the need for adequate after-school care, as great as it may be today, will increase further. If adequate care is not available, then one would expect the "at risk" nature of this population to increase. partially offseting the benefits associated with maternal employment.

Single-parent households

Single-parent families may be created via divorce (69 percent), death of a parent (12 percent), or by the parents never marrying (14 percent) (Glick, 1979). Ninety percent of single-parent families are female headed (Hetherington, 1979). In 1977, the proportion of white children living in female-headed households was 11.9 percent; for blacks, 41.7 percent; and for Hispanics, 19.5 percent (Glick, 1979). Inadequate economic resources are seen as a primary problem for the female-headed household. As of 1976, the income of such households ($9608) was about half that of two-parent households ($18,206). Less than one-third of the fathers contribute financially to female-headed households that are created by divorce (Hetherington, 1979). It is therefore not surprising that most females who head households work outside of the home. Unfortunately, these women may be the least able to afford child care.

One of the most common generalizations about children in single-parent households is that they are prone to juvenile delinquency. The relationship is actually quite complex (Herzog and Sudia, 1973). Significantly more important than the single-parent status of the family is the adequacy of children's supervision. Those families in which unsuitable discipline is used (either too lenient or inconsistent) are more likely to have problems with delinquency. In addition, delinquency is more likely when there is a lack of family cohesiveness (Glueck and Glueck, 1962). Thus, other factors which covary with parental status appear to be more important contributors to delinquency.

A similar conclusion has been drawn concerning the relationship between family structure and children's mental health (Herzog & Sudia, 1973). Contrary to the stereotype, sex role identity problems and mental illness are no more common in children of single-parent households than in intact families, when other factors such as social class and the climate of family interpersonal relations are controlled.

Recently, numerous studies have focused upon single-parent families created by divorce. Generalizations about the effects of divorce on children are difficult to make from these studies because of a variety of mitigating factors. Some of these factors are specific to the individual. Children with previous

emotional problems have more difficulty coping with divorce than do children without prior emotional problems (Kelly, 1978). Younger children have more difficulty than adolescents in adjusting to divorce (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1975). Girls tend to adjust more readily when their mothers have custody, while boys appear to do better when their fathers have custody (Santrock and Warshak, 1979). Other factors moderating the effects of divorce are external to the child. The lack of availability of emotional support systems for parent and child, the loss of income, a shift in the mother's employment status from nonworking to working, a downward change in the quality of the neighborhood the family moves into--these are all associated with increased stress upon the child and his/her functioning more poorly (Hetherington, 1979).

With these qualifications, however, certain conclusions may be drawn. Most psychologists agree that prolonged exposure to stressful, conflict-ridden intact families is ultimately more deletrious to children's wellbeing than is divorce. Nonetheless, the first year following divorce is typically very stressful and conflicted. Parents are often preoccupied with their own problems and needs and tend to be inconsisent, less affectionate, and lacking in control of their children (Hetherington, Cox, and Cox, 1978). While marked improvements are reported in the second year after

divorce, the children of divorce can be seen as a special population at risk. Excessive and overwhelming pressure may be exerted upon the child to be mature and autonomous and to assume adult responsibilities (Wallerstein,1978). Boys in particular may miss the presence of a male figure and may establish a testing and coercive pattern with the mother (Hetherington, Cox, and Cox, 1978). When the family's economic resource are severely curtailed and the mother must work outside of the home (when she had not previously), children have been found to have major adjustment problems. These problems are reflected in poorer functioning academically and socially (Hetherington, 1979).

What are the long-term consequences of the emotional trauma associated with the dissolution of a family. Single-parent status has been seen as contributing to poor school achievement (Herzog and Sudia, 1973). Here again, a careful analysis of the research reveals that the critical element may not be single-parent status per se, but a complex interaction of family economic factors and community conditions. For example, school achievement is more closely related to race and income than to family status, especially among low-income groups (Coleman, 1966). The long-run impact of single-parent status on achievement may not be direct, but mediated by low income.

The literature on social mobility indicates that

children from single-parent families achieve lower levels of education, occupation, and income than children from intact families, when other background factors are held constant (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan,1972). The break-up of a family, for whatever reason, moreover changes those background factors in important ways. In particular the economic level of the parent raising the child is usually significantly reduced by the dissolution of marriage (Hetheringon, 1979).

New immigration

In contrast to the numerous examinations of children with adolescent mothers, working mothers, and single parents, the study of the effects of immigrant and foreign-language status have been limited. Very little data are available to describe the adjustment of immigrant children, particularly from non-Western backgrounds, to the United states.

In the absence of hard data, one expects that the difficulty of children in adapting to schools would be proportional to a) differences in languages and culture; b) transitory or cyclical nature of the migration; c) parental adjustment difficulties; and d) economic difficulties. In fact several researchers (Brody, 1970; Naditch and Morrissey, 1976; Inbar and Adler, 1976) provide some documentation for these hypotheses. The

problems of bilingualism compound those of compensatory education for children who are merely at an economic disadvantage.

The influx of Asian and Hispanic children indicate two different problems. The new Asian immigration is heterogeneous in many ways. The children of educated Asians, many of whom went to universities in the United States pose no special problem. Refugee children, particularly Indochinese from illiterate or semi-literate rural backgrounds must learn a language with few cognates. Children of transient Mexican migrants have to learn two languages and cultural patterns, since several years are alternately spent in Mexico and the United States. To achieve in American schools, both groups will require considerable assistance of teachers who know their language.

DESIGNING NEW FOLLOW THROUGH OPTIONS

The changing demographics indicate the following points:

1) the size of the traditional pool of applicants (white and blacks) is declining;

2) a new pool of applicants for whom English is a second language (Asian and Hispanic immigrants) is increasing.

3) There will be a substantial demand for custodial services for "latchkey" children of all social and ethnic backgrounds, as women continue to seek work outside the home, as teenage illegitimacy persists, and as the rate of dissolution of marriage remains high.

These trends suggest that one important focus of Follow Through might be bilingual education, which will be a primarily low-income program. A second focus that would appeal to a broader constituency is day-care services, regardless of the educational focus. The back-to-basics and competency testing movements suggests a third focus--absorption by Follow Through of "frills" that are taken for granted by middle-class children, such as sports, music, arts.

None of these functions need be restricted to tne first few grades. Follow Through might wish to extend the after-school programs in particular to grade 6 or beyond.

Finally, there is no reason why Follow Through programs need be restricted to the normal clientele of the school. Programs might involve bussing in and out for particular activities.

New modes of evaluation

The assumption of new purposes and functions by

Follow Through implies a broader criteria of evaluation. The programs tailored for Asian- and Hispanic-Ameican children might be evaluated by their progress in learning English and their success in subjects taught during the regular school day. Programs with a custodial objective might look at the degree to which its charges suffered injuries or got in trouble after regular school, as well as by grades in regular classes. Programs oriented toward children from single-parent homes might look at such outcomes as emotional development. Another outcome is the degree to which Follow Through activities facilitate the entry into the labor market of mothers, which may indirectly improve the economic and educational environment at home.

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